

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 240094

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE.

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I APPRECIATED THE MESSAGE YOU SENT ME YESTERDAY AFTER YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, COMPLETED YOUR MEETING IN LUSAKA. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BE CLEAR WITH ONE ANOTHER IF THE PROCESS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS TO CONTINUE ON THE COURSE WE BOTH BELIEVE POSSIBLE.

3. I MUST TELL YOU IN ALL FRANKNESS THAT WHILE WE PUT THE BEST POSSIBLE FACE ON IT, THE STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENTS LEFT A PAINFUL IMPRESSION HERE. THERE WAS NO REFERENCE TO A MAJOR U.S. INITIATIVE. THERE WAS THE IMPLICATION THAT THE WHOLE SCHEME HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN AND ONLY A FEW INITIATES WILL UNDERSTAND THAT ITS MAJOR ELEMENTS HAD BEEN
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IN FACT ACCEPTED IN LUSAKA. THERE IS THE IMPLICATION

THAT THE ENTIRE SCHEME IS A SMITH PROPOSAL WHEN IN FACT IT HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY MASSIVE U.S. PRESSURE.

4. THE BASIC FRAMEWORK OF THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT WAS DISCUSSED WITH YOU AND OTHER FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IN DETAIL. THE FIVE POINTS WE AND THE BRITISH DEVELOPED THROUGH THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS WERE PRESENTED TO YOU. WE MADE POINT THREE REGARDING THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AS DETAILED AS WE DID - NOT TO KEEP THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES IN POWER BUT PRECISELY FOR THE OPPOSITE REASON: TO MAKE THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AN IRREVOCABLE BREAK TOWARD FULL MAJORITY RULE AND TO DEPRIVE SMITH OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAGGLE AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. YOU ASSURED ME THAT YOU HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THESE POINTS AND MADE IT CLEAR THEY FORMED AN ACCEPTABLE FRAMEWORK FOR A SETTLEMENT. WE CONDUCTED SIMILAR DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND HE ALSO INDICATED HIS BASIC ACCEPTANCE. AS RESULT OF YOURS AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S REACTION WE TOLD IAN SMITH TO GO AHEAD AND MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT HE DELIVERED ON SEPTEMBER 24.

5. IF THERE IS FURTHER NEGATIVE REACTION IN PUBLIC TO THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE ADVANCED, SMITH AND THE DIE-HARDS IN SALISBURY WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO BACK AWAY FROM THEIR COMMITMENT. I AM ALSO RELIABLY INFORMED THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IS UNDER GREAT PRESSURE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE PUBLIC STAND TAKEN BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IS SERVING TO SOLIDIFY SOUTH AFRICAN DOMESTIC OPPOSITION.

6. WE BOTH KNOW THAT THIS PROCESS CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT CONTINUED U.S. PRESSURE. WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE WE HAVE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IF THE POSITIONS WHICH YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES ARE SO INSENSITIVE TO OUR PROBLEMS.

7. WE MUST KEEP IN MIND WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. YOU ASKED FOR AND WE OBTAINED A COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE IN TWO YEARS. THE PROPOSALS WE DISCUSSED AND SMITH

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ACCEPTED ALLOWED FOR THE DESIGNATION OF AN AFRICAN CHIEF MINISTER AND AN AFRICAN MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE COUNCIL OF STATE IS COMPOSED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE AFRICAN MEMBERS EXERCISE AN EFFECTIVE VETO OVER THAT BODY'S DELIBERATION. IT WAS NOT OUR INTENTION TO MAINTAIN OR LEGITIMIZE THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT IN SALISBURY. WE NEGOTIATED A FRAMEWORK WHICH IS BOUND TO RESULT IN THE UNDOING

OF THAT STRUCTURE IN A MATTER OF MONTHS. ALL THAT CAN KEEP SMITH IN POWER NOW IS FAILURE OF THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS TO BRING ABOUT RAPIDLY A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

8. I LOOK FORWARD TO STAYING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU IN THE COMING WEEKS. WE MUST BOTH WORK TO MAKE SURE THAT POSTURES TAKEN IN PUBLIC DO NOT UNDERMINE A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME. WE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE OUR ROLE IS WE ARE CONSTANTLY ASSAULTED BY THE AFRICAN LEADERS AND OUR OWN SENSITIVITIES ARE NOT RESPECTED. IN THAT CASE EVENTS WILL PROCEED INEXORABLY AND VIOLENCE WILL BE THE ULTIMATE ARBITER WITH ALL THAT IMPLIES. WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO BRING OUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR ON THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES OR THE SOUTH AFRICANS. WITH WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER
UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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